SUN YAT-SEN

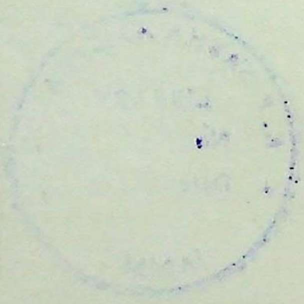
S. TIKHVINSKY

SUN YAT-SEN

On the Occasion of the Centenary of His Birth (1866-1966)

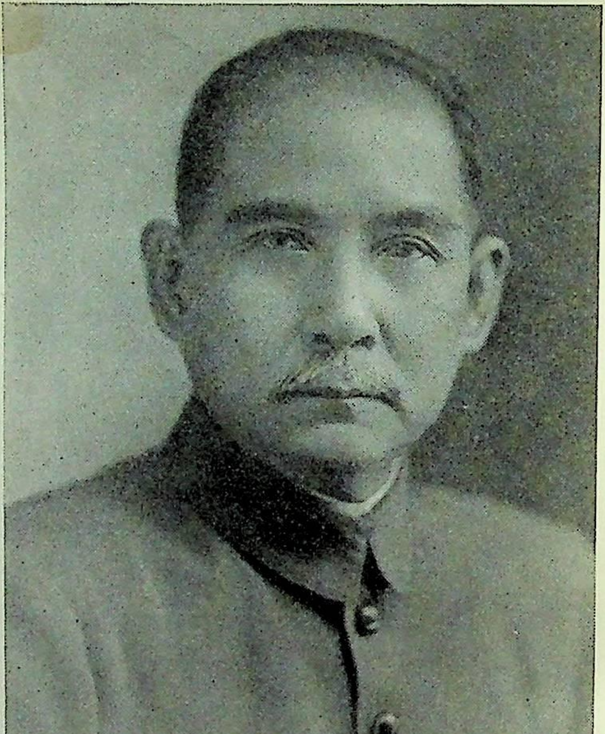
K. P. SABHA AMEPHAL...
LIBRARY
No..............
Date..............
JAMMU

NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY PUBLISHING HOUSE



Contents

"DOWN WITH THE MANCHU MONARCHY—LONG LIVE THE CHINESE REPUBLIC!"	6
FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE CHINESE REPUBLIC	11
AGAINST THE NORTHERN MILITARISTS, FOR CHINA'S UNIFICATION	17
THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND SUN YAT-SEN	22
"OUR EYES ARE FIXED ON RUSSIA"	33
SUN YAT-SEN—A TRUE FRIEND OF THE SOVIET UNION	38
SUN YAT-SEN'S BEHEST	57



■ *"A revolutionary democrat, noble and courageous,"—thus Lenin characterised Sun Yat-sen, the outstanding Chinese revolutionary, under whose leadership the 267-year-long rule of the Ching dynasty of the Manchus was overthrown in 1911, and a republic proclaimed.*

The 1917 October Revolution as well as the foreign and home policy of the Soviet state had a profound influence on Sun Yat-sen. In a New Year address, delivered on December 31, 1923 in Canton, Sun Yat-sen declared: "From now on our eyes will be fixed on Russia."

The present booklet sets out to give a portrait of the dauntless Chinese revolutionary. It shows his absolute confidence in the final triumph of the Chinese people over the forces of reaction, both national and foreign, and his sincere admiration of the Soviet Union, in which he saw a staunch friend and ally of the new China.

The booklet has been prepared by the Soviet historian, Prof. S. Tikhvinsky, an authority on the Far East and foreign relations.

"Down With the Manchu Monarchy — Long Live the Chinese Republic!"

Sun Yat-sen, the great Chinese revolutionary and lifelong friend of the Soviet people, was born on November 12, 1866 in a poor peasant family of Tsuiheng, a village in Kwangtung. With the assistance of his elder brother, who had emigrated to Hawaii, he was able to graduate from the Hong Kong College of Medicine.

At the end of the 19th century China was a backward country, semi-feudal and semi-colonial, ruled over by the alien Manchu dynasty of Ching (1644-1911). The Chinese people were oppressed and exploited both by the rapacious Manchu-Chinese landlords and officials, and by the imperialist powers, which had enmeshed China in onerous, unequal treaties.

The people often revolted against the Manchu rulers and their confederates. The young doctor became a fearless

champion of China's national liberation. In 1894, he set up the Union for the Regeneration of China, which was the first Chinese revolutionary organisation.

Sixteen years of hard hazardous work lay between the first revolutionary outbreak on October 26, 1895, in Canton and the Tsinghai revolution of 1911-12. Though Dr. Sun Yat-sen had to live in emigration, his house, nonetheless, was invariably the headquarters of any revolutionary anti-government action during that period. At the same time, Sun Yat-sen was working on the theoretical principles of struggle against the Chings.

In 1905 Sun Yat-sen developed his "three popular principles," which provided the basis for the programme of the Common Union, a new revolutionary body set up in Japan as a successor to the Regeneration Union. He demanded, first, the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty and restoration of Chinese nationhood; second, the establishment of a democratic republic; and third, the "levelling up of the right to land." Sun Yat-sen dreamed of a constitution which would give the citizens of China executive, legislative, legal, examinatorial and supervisory power.

Though generally progressive and democratic, the programme was not devoid of deficiencies. Thus, Sun Yat-sen was not aware of the class nature of social contradictions and the important role of the struggle against imperialism and feudalism in the impending national revolution, regarding them merely as part of the national conflict between the Chinese and the Manchus.

Apprehensive of the Western powers' possible interference in the revolution, Sun Yat-sen included no anti-imperialist slogans in his programme. What was more, he repeatedly assured the imperialist countries that, if they

remained neutral, the revolutionaries would faithfully observe all current treaties and agreements.

The first Russian revolution was widely commented on by the Chinese revolutionary press in 1905-07, above all, by the *Min pao* magazine (*The People*), organ of the Common Union. It did much to popularise the experience of the Russian proletariat and urged that this experience be employed in practice.

Hailing the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of Russia against the despotic rule of the tsar, *Min pao* wrote: "The revolutionary storm in Russia shook the world like a mighty peal of thunder... The whole world now knows the strength of the Russian Socialist Party... Russia can help us by showing the way for our own revolution..." (*Min pao,* May 1, 1906.)

It should, however, be noted that neither Sun Yat-sen nor any other leaders of the Common Union, who contributed numerous articles to *Min pao* on the revolutionary movement in Russia in 1905-07, had a sufficiently clear idea of the class composition of Russia's revolutionary camp or the sharp unremitting struggle the Leninists had to wage against both the opportunists in the working-class movement and the bourgeois and bourgeois-landlord parties, which were quick to climb on the bandwaggon at the high tide of the revolution.

Min pao lumped together the entire revolutionary camp in Russia as "nihilists." The designation was broadly referred to the Narodniks, whose outlook rather coincided with the ideas of Sun Yat-sen and his comrades. Like the Narodniks, the Common Union leaders understood little of scientific socialism. Neither did they realise the vital role of the revolutionary party—the workers' vanguard.

In 1905-07 the number of Russian emigrés in Japan—most of them Social-Revolutionaries and Narodniks—

increased considerably. It was there that Sun Yat-sen met G. Gershuni, a prominent Social-Revolutionary who had effected his escape from the Akatuy prison in 1906, and N. Sudzilovsky (alias Russel), a Narodnik who published the newspaper *Volya* in Nagasaki right after the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-05.

In his memoirs, the well-known Chinese author Lu Hsin mentions the influence Russian revolutionary emigrés enjoyed among young Chinese students in Japan at that time. Referring to the impact of the Russian revolution and literature on the Chinese youth, Lu Hsin writes: "Was there a single one among our young revolutionaries at that time who did not know of the young Russian revolutionaries? Was there anybody who had not heard of the fearless terrorists? The young Chinese never forgot Sofia Perovskaya... Much as we knew of the aggressive policy the Russian Empire conducted in China, its literature, nonetheless, made us realise one important thing: that there were two classes in the world, the oppressors and the oppressed! ...At that time, it was a discovery no less momentous than the discovery of fire..." (Lu Hsin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 2, Gospolitizdat, 1955, p. 99.)

Information about the revolutionary events of 1905-07 in Russia came mostly from Social-Revolutionaries and Narodniks. They were not, however, the only source. In 1907, after escaping from penal servitude in Siberia, V. Kurnatovsky, a member of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party, reached Nagasaki. While there, he contributed to an English newspaper in Yokohama. We also know from a record made by Sun Yat-sen's secretary that Sun Yat-sen met G. Chicherin in Paris in 1905 and had a long talk with him. A well-know Russian Marxist, M. Pavlovich (Weltmann), regularly met Chinese revolutionaries in 1907-11 while in emigration in Paris. He

edited their leaflets and contributed to their press.

The activities of the Japanese Socialists had a considerable revolutionising influence on Chinese political emigrés in Japan. The first introduction of Chinese revolutionary democrats to Marxist theory was effected through the Japanese Socialist press. Chu Chih-hsin, a close friend of Sun Yat-sen's, published in *Min pao* short biographies of German Socialists and the biography of Karl Marx. He also translated an excerpt from the *Communist Manifesto*. Chu Chih-hsin not only disseminated the Marxist theory of revolution but tried to apply certain provisions of Marxism to concrete Chinese problems.

The first decade of the 20th century saw a more rapid growth of industry in China despite the country's semi-colonial condition and the obstruction of the Ching government. Between 1901 and 1911, 340 factories either owned or shared by Chinese capitalists were built, and the volume of foreign trade doubled over the same period. The economic and social changes that were taking place intensified the revolutionary ferment. There were even army revolts in many provinces.

The Ching administration was crumbling. Dr. Sun Yat-sen directed the activities of the Common Union from abroad. He mapped out uprisings, collected funds and secured arms. Revolutionary propaganda was gaining scope every single day.

First President of the Chinese Republic

At last the storm broke out. As a result of the successful uprising against the Manchu authorities in Wuchang on October 10, 1911, a republic was proclaimed and a revolutionary government set up in Hupeh province. It called on the Chinese people to abolish Manchu rule. The uprising quickly spread to the southern and eastern provinces so that by December that year the Ching monarchy was confined to only three provinces; Chihli, Hunan and Kansu.

On January 1, 1912, Sun Yat-sen was inaugurated in Nanking as Provisional President of the Chinese Republic. On assuming office, he solemnly pledged himself to safeguard the country's interests, serve the people faithfully and remain in office until Manchu arbitrary rule had

been abolished and the "Chinese Republic had taken a fitting place among other states and been recognised by them."

The major targets of the Nanking revolutionary government were to complete negotiations with the North on the final abolition of the Manchu monarchy and obtain recognition from foreign powers.

When the ruling feudal-compradore clique learned the news of the revolution, they immediately handed power over to the "Liberal" Yüan Shih-k'ai, who incidentally enjoyed the good graces of the Western powers. In an attempt to forestall the revolutionary storm which threatened to spread to the North, Yüan Shih-k'ai started negotiations with the Chings, and on February 12, 1912, the Empress Dowager Lun Yu abdicated on behalf of the infant Emperor Pu-yi and the Manchu dynasty. That was the end of a feudal monarchy that had endured for many centuries. It was not, however, the revolutionary Sun Yat-sen government that came into power but the would-be Liberal, General Yüan Shih-k'ai, who became Provisional President of the Chinese Republic on February 15, 1912.

Though Sun Yat-sen had been in office for only a very short time, he had still managed to issue some democratic laws and rulings protecting freedoms and property of the individual. A bourgeois-democratic constitution was adopted. Old deeds covering the sale and purchase of slaves were annulled, the flogging and torture of prisoners forbidden, freedom of the press and assembly proclaimed, export of objects of art prohibited, speculation in rice restrained, and so on.

That period in particular brought out Sun Yat-sen's sterling qualities. He was uncompromising (among other things, he refused to endorse his elder brother's appointment to a high office), incorruptible, honest and disin-

terested, easily accessible to all, and modest in private life.

After the overthrow of the monarchy right-wing collaborationist elements who hoped to oust Yüan Shih-k'ai and his party from active government by parliamentary methods alone began to play the key role among Sun Yat-sen's former supporters, members of the Common Union. On August 13, 1912, the Common Union merged with some Liberal bourgeois-landlord parties of South and Central China to form a new National Party (the Kuomintang). Unlike the revolutionary programme of the Common Union, the key note of the Kuomintang programme was moderation. It was based on vague formulas like "political unification," "local self-government," etc.

After resigning from the office of president, Sun Yat-sen concentrated his efforts on popularising his plans for the economic development of China and the improvement of general living standards, and on creating "socialism" in China. Sun Yat-sen regarded the strike movement in the United States and Europe as dramatic evidence of disruptive contradictions in capitalist society. Believing that capitalism in China was still at its embryonic stage, Sun Yat-sen urged the republican government to pursue a policy that would prevent the rise of capitalist monopolies in China. His practical recommendations were that the government should take control of manufacturing and the exploitation of natural resources, nationalise major enterprises and the railways and transfer ground rents to the state budget.

Sun Yat-sen's "socialism" however, was a far cry from scientific socialism. So long as China remained a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country, his plans, which made no provision for overcoming imperialist subjugation and feudal survivals, were abstract and unworkable. Unable to find a realistic way to his goal, Sun Yat-sen advanced

utopian plans of "forestalling" capitalism by handing over to the state differential ground rents so that the "increment of value of real property should belong to the people, by whom it had been created, and not to private capitalists, who fell into possession of land by mere chance." (Sun Yat-sen. *Sel. Works*, Nauka, 1964, p. 566.)

The Leninist Party supported the revolutionary uprising of the Chinese people against Manchu rule, and the revolutionary-democratic movement led by Sun Yat-sen. The Bolshevik press gave regular coverage to the revolutionary movement in China. The Prague Conference of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Bolsheviks), held in January 1912, discussed the Party's attitude to the Chinese revolution. At Lenin's suggestion, the conference adopted a special decision to oppose the imperialist policy of the tsar and Liberal bourgeoisie, who were ready to use the civil war in China as an excuse for fresh annexations.

After reading "China's Second Step" by Sun Yat-sen, which was published in *Le Peuple* (Belgium), Lenin immediately responded in *The Neva Star*—a Party organ. Describing Sun Yat-sen as a "revolutionary democrat, noble and courageous," Lenin wrote: "Every line of Sun Yat-sen's platform breathes a spirit of militant and sincere democracy. It reveals a thorough understanding of the inadequacy of a 'racial' revolution. There is not a trace in it of indifference to political issues... It stands for complete democracy and the demand for a republic. It squarely poses the question of the condition of the masses, of the mass struggle. It expresses warm sympathy for the toiling and exploited people, faith in their struggle and in the justice of their cause." (Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 18, p. 164.)

But with Sun Yat-sen—Lenin emphasised—the ideology of militant democratism went hand in hand with socialist visions, hopes of circumventing the capitalist stage for China, and propaganda of radical land reform. Lenin found much in common between the Sun Yat-sen and the Narodniks' platform and showed that it was futile to expect China to circumvent capitalism and wrong to believe that China's backwardness presumably facilitated "social revolution" there.

Lenin noted that a public figure of Sun Yat-sen's calibre was proof that "in Asia there is *still* a bourgeoisie capable of championing sincere, militant, consistent democracy, a worthy comrade of France's great men of Enlightenment and great leaders of the close of the eighteenth century." (Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 18, p. 165.) Emphasising the great role of the democratic upsurge of the people in the Chinese revolution, Lenin observed that China's regeneration depended entirely on "the heroism of the revolutionary masses...

"Whether and to what extent this will succeed is another question... The decisive factors will be the international situation and the alignment of the social forces in China." (Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 18, p. 168.)

Further developments, however, did not favour the Chinese revolution. Afraid of the people, the Liberal bourgeoisie deserted to the counter-revolutionary camp. The international situation, too, was unpropitious for Sun Yat-sen and his supporters. Despite vigorous protests from the republicans, Yüan Shih-k'ai had obtained a big loan from a foreign banking consortium and launched an open counter-revolutionary terror campaign against Kuomintang leaders.

Sun Yat-sen had to emigrate again. Henceforth he devoted himself to the struggle against the Yüan Shih-k'ai

militarist clique that had seized power in the interests of the feudal lords, compradore bourgeoisie and foreign imperialists. At that time Sun Yat-sen meditated deeply over the political processes unfolding in his country and gave much thought to new forms and methods of revolutionary work. He also began to recruit support for his movement, both in and outside China.

Against the Northern Militarists, for China's Unification

■ On June 8, 1914, in Tokyo, Sun Yat-sen set up the Chinese Revolutionary Party (Chunghua Kemin tang), a new revolutionary organisation, whose aim was to reintroduce the 1912 democratic constitution and balk Yüan Shih-k'ai's designs to restore the monarchy. In some provinces of South and East China there were mutinies at that time in army units whose officers were connected with the Chinese Revolutionary Party. The Southern Federation of Independent Provinces was formed in Canton. It declared Yunnan, Kweichow, Kwangsi and Kwangtung independent of Yüan Shih-k'ai. The anti-monarchist movement was at its height when Yüan Shih-k'ai died suddenly on June 6, 1916.

On June 21, Sun Yat-sen returned to China and went to the Southern Federation capital, Canton, to organise

a primary base there for operations against the Peian military clique, that had seized control of the Peking government.

In summer 1917, parliament members expelled from Peking began to arrive in Canton. At the formal opening of the parliament on September 18, it was decided to move the army against the militarist North. Sun Yat-sen, elected Generalissimo of South China, took command of the armed forces of the Southern Federation.

He had, however, no real power, for Federation army units belonged to various provincial militarist cliques constantly warring among themselves. So when head of the Kwangsi group General Lu Yung-ting, who was hand in glove with the Chihli clique, demanded in early May 1918 the removal of the Supreme Commander-in-Chief, Sun Yat-sen was forced to tender his resignation and leave for Shanghai.

For the time being, Sun Yat-sen decided to withdraw from active revolutionary work and complete his partly prepared *Programme for the Country's Construction* which consisted of three independent books: the *Spiritual Edifice* (*Teaching of Sun Wen*), the *Material Edifice* (*Industrial Plan*), and the *Social Edifice* (*First Steps of People's Rule*).

The *Teaching of Sun Wen* testified that its author was a devoted patriot seeking to "elevate China in one leap to the status of a mighty and flourishing country and usher its people into the radiant kingdom of peace and happiness." At that time, however, Sun Yat-sen did not realise that the only way for China to overcome her age-long backwardness was through struggle by the entire people against the imperialists and war-mongering feudal lords who were, in fact, responsible for China's stagnation. What was more, the book revealed that its author was

somewhat apprehensive of the masses, who—so he believed—needed to be guided by "wise farseeing men." Sun Yat-sen was sure that before constitutional government could be introduced in China, the country must pass through long periods of "military rule" and "political guardianship."

In the *Material Edifice* (*Industrial Plan*), Sun Yat-sen set forth detailed economic development plans. He suggested "pooling all industries in a single big trust or company to be turned over to the Chinese people as public property," thus drawing a broad programme of the development of state capitalism in China. The right of ownership of all enterprises to be built with foreign capitalists' investments should—according to Sun Yat-sen—belong to the state. He summed up: "It is my idea that foreign capitalism should be employed for the construction of socialism in China." (Sun Yat-sen. *Sel. Works*, Vol. I, Peking, 1956, p. 321. Chinese edition.)

Hopes of aid without strings from imperialist states were doomed from the start. It was not until the new, socialist state ushered in by the Great October Revolution had launched an entirely unprecedented foreign policy based on the principles of equality, sovereignty and mutual respect of all nations, large or small, a policy based on the principles of proletarian internationalism and workers' solidarity the world over, that colonial and dependent peoples had any real prospects of gaining freedom and disinterested aid of every kind.

After the victorious October Revolution, the young Soviet state guided by Lenin began to implement these principles as Sun Yat-sen had ample opportunity to see.

The third book—the *Social Edifice* (*First Steps of People's Rule*)—was meant to disseminate in China the ideas of bourgeois democracy. At a time when China still

languished under feudal misrule, prey to both national militarists and foreign imperialists, the endorsement of the ideas of bourgeois democracy was objectively expedient, serving as it did to rally different strata to a fight for their democratic rights.

The inconsistency of the *Programme for the Country's Construction* stemmed from the weakness and irresolution of the Chinese bourgeoisie, who lacked courage to fall back on the people's support for a final assault on the colonialists.

Events proved that Sun Yat-sen's plans were a piece of wishful thinking. The Western powers would not change their policy towards China, which made rapid industrial progress in 1914-18. After signing a number of peace treaties, the imperialists lost no time to resume their colonial plundering of China with redoubled energy.

The victorious October Revolution and the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist Movement of May 4, that developed in 1919 under the direct impact of the liberation ideas engendered by the October Revolution, had a great influence on Sun Yat-sen's outlook and his further activities. The movement, which was sparked off by a student demonstration in Peking protesting against the humiliating provisions of the Peace Treaty of Versailles, was joined by factory and office workers and craftsmen in Peking, Tientsin, Wanhsien, Wuchang and other cities. Towards the end of May and in June it began to assume national proportions. Japanese goods were increasingly boycotted. Workers in big industrial centres like Shanghai, Nanking, Hankow, etc., stepped up mass strike action. They were soon joined by the North China railwaymen. For the first time in China's history the proletariat entered the political arena under the slogan of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle.

In his articles and political speeches in Shanghai at the end of 1919 and the beginning of 1920, Sun Yat-sen consistently urged the necessity of re-establishing a parliamentary republic in China through revolution. Calling for a fight against reactionary officials, warlords and politicians, Sun Yat-sen referred to them as "three mouldy layers of ground" which must be thrown out of the pit before the foundations of the new republican edifice could be laid. His revival of the Kuomintang was the direct consequence of another upsurge of revolutionary anti-imperialist feeling in China.

When in October 1920, General Chen Chiung-ming, the leader of a militarist clique who passed himself off as a supporter of Sun Yat-sen's, expelled Lu Yung-ting from Canton, Sun Yat-sen returned to South China where political leaders in opposition to the North began to arrive. On April 7, 1921, a special session of the Parliament in Canton elected Sun Yat-sen President of the Chinese Republic. Real power in Kwangtung, however, was in the hands of Chen Chiung-ming, who was Defence Minister, Minister of the Interior, Governor and Commander-in-chief.

To speed up the reunification of China, Sun Yat-sen began to prepare for a march on the North. But as soon as the loyal troops had been despatched to the front, the President's residence was shelled by Chen Chiung-ming's artillery on the night of June 16, 1922, and Chen Chiung-ming proclaimed the "independence" of Kwangtung. Sun Yat-sen tried to suppress the mutineers, but the overt support they received from Britain and the United States again forced him to leave South China.

The Great October Revolution and Sun Yat-sen

■ Chen Chiung-ming's treachery demonstrated to Sun Yat-sen the fallacy of entering blocs and concluding agreements with one militarist group against another. Trying to find a way out Sun Yat-sen began to study the experience of the Bolshevik Party, which not only had brought off a victorious revolution but by 1922 had driven out superiorly equipped interventionist troops. Thus began a new, and most active, stage in the Chinese revolutionary's practical and theoretical work.

The Great October Socialist Revolution made an overpowering impression on Sun Yat-sen. Speaking to a group of Japanese and Indian journalists in the spring of 1918 Sun Yat-sen said that the Asian countries should recognise Soviet Russia, and their press should write in support of the achievements of the October Revolution.

After his forced departure from Canton to Shanghai, Sun Yat-sen sent through some Chinese emigrants in America a telegram of greetings to Lenin on behalf of the Parliament of South China and the Revolutionary Party. The message said: "The Revolutionary Party of China expresses its profound admiration of the relentless struggle the revolutionary party of your country is waging and hopes that the revolutionary parties of China and Russia may join forces for a common struggle." As stated in the report of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to the 5th All-Russia Congress of Soviets, "the leaders of the democratic movement in South China have pointed out that the very existence of a socialist republic in Russia for as long as eight months makes the Eastern peoples confident that a similar new social order can also be established in the East."

The Council of People's Commissars instructed People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs G. Chicherin to return Sun Yat-sen's greetings. In his letter, Chicherin expressed his complete agreement with the statement of the "leader of the Chinese revolution" to the effect that "both the Russian and Chinese revolutions, have the same aims and are striving to free the workers and establish lasting peace based on the recognition of the common interests of the great proletariat of Russia and China." In conclusion Chicherin sent his most sincere wishes of happiness and prosperity to the working people of China and their esteemed teacher, Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

In May 1918, the paper *Minkuo Jihpao,* published in Shanghai and conducted in effect by Sun Yat-sen, carried an article on Soviet foreign policy, which said: "The new Russian government has focused its attention on ending the outrages committed by the capitalist monopolies and their officials. As to the colonial question, the government,

proceeding from the principle of non-interference, has vigorously spoken out against the policy of oppression... and is doing everything in its power to help the peoples attain happiness....

"The Lenin government in Russia has been able to consolidate its position because it is guided by peaceful principles of non-interference. It is an example that China would do well to emulate." (*Minkuo Jihpao*, May 27, 1918.)

In her reminiscences of that period Ho Hsiang-ning, Sun Yat-sen's close colleague, wrote: "The news of the October Revolution awakened the oppressed peoples like a great alarm bell. Sun Yat-sen became more and more convinced that the Chinese revolution had no chance of success unless it learned from Russia..." (*Jenmin Jihpao,* October 6, 1961.) Furthermore, according to Ho Hsiang-ning, Sun Yat-sen made plans to send his people to Soviet Russia to study, and especially instructed Iiao Ching-k'ai, Chu Chih-hsin and Li Chang-ta to take up Russian.

The first foreign-policy moves by Soviet Russia, the news of which reached China by mid-1918, were followed by other acts intended to establish fraternal relations with the Chinese people.

On December 2, 1918, the Presidium of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee decided to "discontinue the recovery of indemnities from China as under the Treaty with the Chinese government, signed on August 25, 1901, concerning both future payments and accumulated arrears thereof and to instruct the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs to bring the cancellation of said indemnities to the notice of the Chinese Government." (*USSR Foreign Policy Documents*, Vol. 1, Gospolitizdat, 1957, p. 593.)

On July 25, 1919, the Government of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic sent a special mes-

sage to the Chinese people and the governments of South and North China stating the principles of Soviet foreign policy. The Soviet government renounced the rights and privileges tsarist Russia had enjoyed in China. It declared the old unequal treaties null and void and expressed itself in sympathy with the liberation struggle of the Chinese people. The message stated: "If the Chinese people want to be free like the Russian people and if they do not want to suffer the lot the Allies prepared for them at Versailles..., they must understand that the Russian workers and peasants and their Red Army are their only allies and brothers in the struggle for freedom." (*USSR Foreign Policy Documents*, Vol. 2, Gospolitizdat, 1958, p. 223.)

The message of the Soviet government was warmly approved by the Chinese press and numerous public organisations. Here is how *Minkuo Jihpao,* the Shanghai organ of Sun Yat-sen's party, described the first reaction of public opinion: "The message of the Workers' and Peasants' Government to the Chinese people reported in Shanghai recently has appealed in a singular way to Chinese psychology. This past week public organisations have clearly and sincerely assessed Russia's Note. This shows that justice has not been lost on the Chinese, that it has been properly appreciated."

In December 1918 a conference of Chinese and Korean workers' organisations in Russia was held in Petrograd. It was decided there to unite all the Chinese organisations in the Republic into a common Union of Chinese Workers in Russia, meant to be not so much a trade union as a "revolutionary organisation for extensive propaganda." The conference issued an appeal urging the Chinese people to take action against the corrupt Northern government. It declared: "...Nothing but solid unity with the Russian working class can bring about the truimph of revolution

in oppressed China."

The 3rd Union Congress held in Moscow at the end of June and the beginning of July, 1920, applauded the Soviet government's policy of friendship with the Chinese people. The delegates elected Lenin and Sun Yat-sen Honorary Chairmen of the Congress. The Congress was addressed by Chairman of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee M. Kalinin and People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs G. Chicherin.

On June 25 Liu Tseh-jung (Lao Hsiu-chao), Chairman of the Union of Chinese Workers in Russia, sent two telegrams on behalf of Congress delegates to Sun Yat-sen in Shanghai. The first informed him of his honorary election which he shared with Lenin and invited him on behalf of the Congress to come to Soviet Russia. The second telegram ran:

"Shanghai, Mr. Sun Yat-sen, to be brought to the further notice of all the Chinese, all public bodies, associations and political parties.

"A hundred thousand emigrants to Russia and Siberia elected their delegates to the 3rd All-Russia Congress of Chinese Workers, who have decided to cable the following message to their fellow-countrymen:

"1. We call on all our fellow-countrymen to unite and assist in every possible way in the revolutionary work of the Chinese youth for the purpose of destroying their enemies—imperialist aggression and capitalist tyranny.

"2. We call on China to recognise without delay the Workers' and Peasants' Republic which is leading the oppressed peoples in their common struggle for liberation. We also call on our country not to assist the powers hostile to Russia by any means.

"3. We call on our country to send an official plenipotentiary delegation to Russia to establish friendly

relations. This is of paramount importance to China and should not be delayed.

"4. We also ask that urgent steps be taken to enable Chinese emigrants desiring to return to their country to do so, after stating their intention, at any time and without molestation. We offer our thanks in advance.

"The foregoing text was adopted on June 25, 1920, in Moscow.

"On behalf of the 3rd Congress of Chinese Workers in Russia, signed Chairman of the Congress Liao Hsiu-tsao.

"Despatched from Moscow, capital of Russia, July 5."

The telegram was received by Sun Yat-sen and published in *Minkuo jihpao* on July 13, 1920. Simultaneously, Sun Yat-sen sent an answer, which, however, the Shanghai telegraph service, controlled by representatives of the imperialist powers, refused to forward to Moscow. Sun Yat-sen was obliged to send a telegram to Liu Tseh-jung through his New York representative, Ma Su. The latter sent it on to M. Litvinov to Copenhagen. The telegram ran:

"Mr. Lao Hsiu-chao, Moscow.

"The telegram of July 5 sent by the Congress of Chinese Workers in Moscow was received in Shanghai July 10 and at once made public to the country. I beg to observe, though, that at present China is a republic in name only; political power is in the hands of monarchist and military groupings, and the people are not free. Still another revolution will have to sweep away the groups which hold power now before Point 4 of your telegram can be implemented. This telegram will be forwarded to you by Mr. Ma Su from New York as the Shanghai Telegraph Office will not accept it.

Sun Yat-sen."

At the end of 1920 in Shanghai, Sun Yat-sen met G. Voitinsky, a Soviet Communist and representative of the Comintern, who had just arrived from Moscow. Sun Yat-sen eagerly plied him with questions about the social and economic structure of the Soviet Republic. He wished to keep in contact with Soviet Russia and even asked the Russians to "build a powerful radio station at Vladivostok so that the Canton government could keep informed about what the Russians were doing and draw on their experience."

On October 31, 1920, G. Chicherin sent another letter to Sun Yat-sen. Answering it from Canton, Sun Yat-sen wrote:

"I should like to meet you and other Moscow friends personally. Your work and, above all, the structure of your Soviets, your Army and education are of utmost interest to me. I should like to know everything you and others can tell me, especially about education. Following the example of Moscow, I should like to lay the foundations of the Chinese Republic deep in the minds of the younger generation—the workers of tomorrow." In conclusion, Sun Yat-sen sent his "best wishes to you and my friend Lenin and all those who have done so much for the cause of liberty." (*USSR Foreign Policy Documents*, Vol. 5, Gospolitizdat, 1961, p. 85.)

Addressing a reception arranged by the fellowship of Kwangtung citizens in Kwangsi on January 4, 1922, with a speech entitled "Let Us Implement the Three Popular Principles, Let Us Rebuild the Country," Sun Yat-sen said referring to the experience of the Soviet Republic: "France and America are republics of the old type. At the moment Russia alone is a republic of the new type. We, too, must build a republic of the newest type. What does the 'new type' mean? It means making a state into one family.

People should stop being mercenary and selfish and should join efforts for common constructive work." (Sun Yat-sen. *Sel. Works*, Vol. 1, p. 438.)

While he was President of the South China government, Sun Yat-sen liked to meet Soviet visitors. Talking with S. Dalin, a Soviet youth representative who was in Canton to attend the First Congress of the Chinese Socialist Youth Union due to open there on May 5, 1922, Sun Yat-sen told him that if his proposed march on the North were successful he would at once try to achieve a Chinese-Soviet settlement.

The emergence of the Chinese Communist Party and its activities greatly influenced Sun Yat-sen's views and his home and foreign policy.

The First Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, which opened in great secrecy on July 1, 1921, in Shanghai, adopted the Party Rules, discussed administrative questions, worked out the Party line on labour, and elected its leading bodies. It also discussed the problem of assisting Sun Yat-sen's national revolutionary struggle.

According to Sun Yat-sen's wife, Sung Ching-ling, back in 1919—two years before the Chinese Communist Party was formed—Sun Yat-sen was very close with Li Ta-chao, professor of Peking University and fervent propagandist of Marxism-Leninism in China. Li Ta-chao frequently came to see Sun Yat-sen at his Shanghai home. After his visits Sun Yat-sen often told his wife that he considered Li Ta-chao and other Chinese Communists his true colleagues in revolutionary work.

A lively exchange of letters and frequent meetings with Soviet diplomats in China in 1922 gave Sun Yat-sen a better understanding of the Soviet Republic's foreign and home policy. Lenin, though ill and extremely busy at that time, paid great attention to the progress of the na-

tional liberation movement in China and followed Sun Yat-sen's activities closely.

On February 7, 1922, G. Chicherin wrote to Sun Yat-sen to tell him about his meetings with the Kuomintang representative at the Moscow Congress of the Peoples of the Far East. Chicherin assured Sun Yat-sen that "whatever turn our policies in and outside Europe may take, the Soviet government will never swerve from the path of warmest and most steadfast friendship and co-operation with the Chinese people, whose well-being and free democratic development we desire most sincerely." In conclusion, G. Chicherin wrote: "Comrade Lenin has also read your letter with great interest. He is following your work with the wormest approval." (*USSR Foreign Policy Documents,* Vol. 5, p. 84.)

On the arrival in Peking of a second diplomatic mission of the RSFSR, its head, A. Ioffe, started a correspondence with Sun Yat-sen. A. Ioffe informed the President about the home and international situation of the Soviet Republic, his negotiations with the Peking authorities on the establishment of relations with China, and the difficulties he had to contend with. In turn, Sun Yat-sen described the current political situation in China, shared his political and military plans and denounced the Peking government as "the agent of a certain foreign power." He wrote: "This definition is particularly true as regards negotiations and relations with Soviet Russia. It is quite obvious that some powers do not want China to reach agreement with Russia before they have compelled Moscow to accept terms of economic capitulation. At the same time, they do not relish the prospect of an agreement of any kind between us which would free China from their clutches politically and economically."

Owing to delays in negotiations created by the North

China authorities A. Ioffe decided to go to Japan, intending to stop in Shanghai on his way there. In December 1922 Sun Yat-sen sent his representative Chiang Tsih to Peking to find out whether a personal meeting with Ioffe could be arranged in Shanghai. A number of meetings took place in January 1923 and resulted in a joint communique which stated that the two parties "had found a complete coincidence of views on relations between China and Russia." *(Soviet-Chinese Relations, 1917-1957. Collected Documents,* Nauka, 1959, pp. 64-65.)

In the communique, Sun Yat-sen expressed his complete approval of the Soviet Union's policy towards China, and pointed out that the question of the Chinese-Eastern Railway could be solved adequately only by a competent conference of Russians and Chinese. The talks gave the Chinese revolutionary democrat a better understanding of Soviet policy.

Sun Yat-sen was eager to learn as much as possible about the institutions and activities of the Soviet state, as well as the principles and structure of the Communist Party of Russia, he sent his closest aide, Liao Ching-k'ai, to Japan where A. Ioffe was negotiating with the Japanese government. Liao Ching-k'ai was to find out from Ioffe everything that was of interest to Sun Yat-sen. In their long conversations at the Atami resort A. Ioffe and Liao Ching-k'ai discussed relations between China and Russia, the anti-imperialist struggle, etc. As Ho Tsiang-ning wrote, those were "the first friendly negotiations ever held between China and Soviet Russia; they were conducted under difficult conditions, it being necessary to hide from the sleuths of the British and Japanese imperialists."

While in Shanghai after Chen Chiung-ming's mutiny, Sun Yat-sen was busy preparing a conference of provincial

representatives of the Kuomintang, which opened on September 4, 1922, and was attended by 53 delegates. The conference discussed the attitude to be taken towards the Peking government and mapped out a campaign against General Chen Chiung-ming. It also revised the Kuomintang programme so as to make it serve more effectively the complete unification of China. The new programme was edited by Sun Yat-sen and published on January 1, 1923. Despite its vagueness and other shortcomings the programme marked a great advance in consolidating China's progressive forces.

"Our Eyes Are Fixed on Russia"

In January 1923 Chen Chiung-ming was ejected from Canton and Sun Yat-sen again headed the Government of South China. Now he paid more attention to the workers' movement and did much to ensure democratic freedoms, which made the Canton government increasingly popular among the people.

The 3rd Congress of the Chinese Communist Party—legal for the first time in its existence—met in June 1923 in Canton. The major point on its agenda was the common front with the Kuomintang.

Shortly after the Congress, Communists and members of the Socialist Youth Union began joining the Kuomintang *en masse*. Workers, college students, intellectuals, army officers, handicraftsmen, office workers and others fol-

lowed suit. The Kuomintang was thus becoming a strong revolutionary party able to head the national liberation struggle in China.

While reorganising the Party apparatus, Sun Yat-sen also began to form a cadre of army officers on whom he could rely. Accordingly, some Kuomintang officers were sent to Moscow in summer 1923 to analyse the experience of their opposite numbers in the Red Army. The mission spent three months in Moscow studying the structure of the Soviet Armed Forces. Back in Canton, they began remodelling the army on the strength of the experience they had gained on their trip to the Soviet Union.

Sun Yat-sen also paid great attention to the Chinese-Soviet negotiations then in progress at Peking. In August 1923 the Soviet government sent a delegation to China, to negotiate the establishment of diplomatic relations. The Chinese public warmly welcomed the arrival of the Soviet delegation under Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the USSR L. Karakhan. As soon as he got to Peking, L. Karakhan sent a telegram to Canton thanking Sun Yat-sen for his "friendship with Russia at the difficult time of her struggle for independence and freedom," informing him of the purpose of the mission and in conclusion expressing the hope that the two governments would continue to do their utmost "to fulfil the great task of achieving genuine friendship between the two peoples." "Our friendly relations," the telegram went on, "are a pledge of free peaceful development of our peoples." (*USSR Foreign Policy Documents*, Vol. 6, Gospolitizdat, 1962, p. 435.)

The telegram of reply from Sun Yat-sen stated: "I am deeply moved by your generous appreciation of my constant friendship for New Russia, and I declare that no criticism of the ideology you support can or will prevent me from believing, together with you, that the interests of our

LIBRARY
No..........
Date..........
JAMMU

countries require the development of a common policy which will put us on a par with other powers and set us free from the political and economic bondage imposed by an international system which leans on economic imperialism and employs its methods." Further on, Sun Yat-sen warned L. Karakhan that his chief difficulties would arise during negotiations with the politcal coterie which, as he put it, besides being least of all representative of the Chinese people, had shed every pretence at being a national government and conduct its foreign policy on the lines suggested by the promptings of certain foreign powers rather than by the vital interests of China.

Praising L. Karakhan for the sharp rebuff he had given to Wang Cheng-ting, the Peking government representative, who tried to persuade the Soviet Union to follow the example of the United States in its policy towards China, Sun Yat-sen wrote: "I must applaud and thank you on behalf of the Chinese people for the memorable lesson in political realism you have taught that humble servant of Peking's present masters." (*USSR Foreign Policy Documents,* Vol. 6, p. 436.)

On September 17, 1923, Sun Yat-sen sent the head of the Soviet delegation a letter, which read: "I hardly need tell you that you can rely on me for anything I can do to promote the success of your mission in China...

"I have no doubt that Peking will try to make formal recognition of the Soviet government dependent on stipulations which America and other capitalist powers are sure to use as a kind of *quid pro quo* for their recognition of any new administration Tsao Kun may head.

"If you see no prospect of successful negotiations with Peking on terms which would give New Russia international equality with other foreign powers without infringing the sovereign rights of the Chinese people, you may

have to consider the advisability of coming to Canton to negotiate with my new government now being formed, instead of returning to Moscow empty-handed. The capitalist powers will try, through Peking, and by Peking, to inflict another diplomatic defeat on Soviet Russia. But please bear it always in mind that I am prepared and am now in a position to crush any such attempt to humiliate you and your government." (*Ibid.*, p. 436.)

In autumn 1923, Russian Communist M. Borodin and a group of Soviet military experts arrived in Canton at the invitation of Sun Yat-sen. Sun Yat-sen appointed Borodin his adviser on the reorganisation of the Kuomintang and considered his recommendations most attentively.

Sun Yat-sen's knowledge of the experience of the Russian revolution told him that only a well-disciplined, monolithic party could successfully lead the people in carrying out revolutionary changes.

On November 25, 1923, a conference of active Kuomintang members was held in Canton. It was addressed by Sun Yat-sen, whose speech became a Party policy document. The speech indicated that the views of Sun Yat-sen, bourgeois revolutionary democrat that he was, had undergone a drastic change. Sun Yat-sen acknowledged the fallacy of his former policy of blocs with militarists. He declared that China could not be unified through military action alone and that reorganisation of the Party for the sake of making it stronger and enhancing its appeal to the people was the Number One task. Sun Yat-sen also pointed out that the Party must have thoroughly reliable military commanders.

He told the conference that the Kuomintang should learn from Soviet Russia. He said: "The Russian revolution occurred six years later than ours but it triumphed, and all its principles triumphed. The revolutionary government in

Russia is becoming stronger every day. There has been a revolution in Russia and there has been one in China. Why has the Russian revolution won while ours failed? In Russia, the revolutionaries took an immediate part in the struggle and they built up their forces themselves. We must learn from Russia. We must learn how to conduct the struggle, how to organise and how to ensure discipline..."

In conclusion, Sun Yat-sen declared: "Russia and China are both great nations and they must have a similar future."

Never before had Sun Yat-sen expressed publicly so high an assessment of the Soviet state. It was clear that he was firmly determined to steer the foreign policy of his revolutionary party towards the USSR. Simultaneously, Sun Yat-sen gave the Kuomintang three major political directives: to maintain an alliance with the USSR, to co-operate with the Chinese Communist Party and to support the peasants' and workers' movement.

Sun Yat-sen — a True Friend of the Soviet Union

Aside from signifying a radical change in Sun Yat-sen's foreign policy, the call for an alliance of the democratic forces of China with Soviet Russia was indicative of a turning point in his entire outlook which consequently affected his domestic policy as well.

In the period of the Tsinghai revolution and the struggle against Yüan Shih-k'ai and sundry militarist groupings Sun Yat-sen did not venture to speak of freeing China from imperialist oppression. The only prospect he saw at that time was to achieve some mitigation of oppression by turning to account the contradictions within the imperialist camp. When, however, the policy change in favour of alliance with Soviet Russia was made, Sun Yat-sen began to seek rapprochement with the working people of China,

effected a union with the Chinese Communist Party and joined the common anti-imperialist front organised by the Chinese Communist Party on the advice of Lenin and the Comintern.

From the end of 1923 Sun Yat-sen's political programme became clearly anti-imperialist, while his practical activities reached far beyond the boundaries of South China.

Sun Yat-sen's wife and active helpmate, Sung Ching-ling, wrote: "Always aspiring for progress, Sun Yat-sen was able, at the final stage of his life, to appreciate the lessons of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia and realise that the Communist Party and working class of China were the most dynamic force in the country. As soon as he saw the truth, he acted promptly. He revised his old policies and principles." (*People's China*, 1956, No. 22, p. 8.)

The decision to reorganise the Party announced in Sun Yat-sen's speech on November 25, 1923, was reiterated in the Manifesto on the Reorganisation of the Kuomintang. The Manifesto made it known that a series of preparatory steps would be taken to convene a congress of the Kuomintang and called on all Party organisations to purge their ranks of casual and passive elements and intensify organisational work.

In many of his public speeches in December 1923—January 1924, Sun Yat-sen urged active Kuomintang members to launch a mass propaganda campaign among all sections of the population to win the people's undivided support for the Kuomintang. He said: "A revolutionary movement which lacks the moral support of the people is like a river cut off from its source or a tree severed from its roots."

Sun Yat-sen did much to popularise the experience of the October Revolution. He called on Party members to study it profoundly. Addressing a Kuomintang meeting in

December 1923, Sun Yat-sen said: "In carrying out its present reorganisation our Party takes its pattern from Soviet Russia." "Our eyes are fixed on Russia," he stressed.

The First All-China Congress of the Kuomintang opened in Canton on January 20, 1924, and was attended by 199 delegates representing provincial and foreign branches.

Sun Yat-sen was chairman and the main speaker at the Congress. The Congress approved the reorganisation of the Kuomintang and the policy of co-operation with the Communist Party. The Manifesto adopted and the speeches by Sun Yat-sen dealt in detail with the new political programme of the common anti-imperialist and anti-feudal front. Its chief points were: the struggle of the Chinese people for liberation from imperialist oppression; complete equality of all the nationalities of China, and broad democratic liberties and rights for the people; China's economic development along the lines of state capitalism; land for all landless peasants; laws on land tenure; labour legislation; state relief for the unemployed; restrictions on capital; nationalisation of the banks, transport, etc.

The Congress demanded most urgently that all unequal treaties be cancelled and new treaties and agreements concluded with foreign countries on the principles of equality and complete sovereignty of the parties concerned; that democratic freedoms be restored; that order be introduced in land tenure; that trade union activities be promoted; and that the functions of the central and provincial government organs be clearly divided.

The Manifesto issued by the Congress was a highly important policy document. It reflected the new outlook Sun Yat-sen had developed as the result of his nearly forty years of revolutionary activity and his knowledge of the experience of the October Revolution. The first of its three

parts described the current political situation in China, while the second and the third laid down the principles of the Kuomintang and its political programme. The Congress also adopted the Party Charter and formally admitted the Communist Party to membership.

While the Congress was in session, the telegraph brought the news of the death of Lenin, the leader of the working people and the oppressed of the world. On receiving the news on January 25, 1924, the Congress interrupted its work. Three-days' mourning was announced in Canton.

At the Lenin memorial meeting, a statement by Sun Yat-sen was read from the rostrum. It said: "Throughout the ages of world history, thousands of leaders and scholars have appeared, with beautiful words on their lips. But these words were never brought to fruition. You, Lenin, are the exception. You not only talked and taught but made your words a reality. You have created a new country. You have shown us the way of common struggle. Thousands of obstacles were in your way, as they are in mine. I want to go your way, and though my enemies are opposed to it, my people will hail my decision. You have died, Heaven would not prolong your days, but you will live forever in the memory of the oppressed peoples, a great man." (*Izvestia*, March 27, 1924.)

In his message of condolence addressed to the Soviet government, Sun Yat-sen wrote: "His name and memory will be eternal, and people will ever cherish the heroic traits that made him the noble political figure and creative leader that he was. His works will also endure through the ages for they rest on social ideas which, beyond doubt, will dominate the minds and sentiments of future humanity." (Sun Yat-sen. *Sel. Works*, Vol. 2, Peking, 1956, p. 538.)

In his speech in memory of Lenin at the Kuomintang

Congress Sun Yat-sen said: "The whole of the supreme force of Lenin's mind and militant spirit, his entire activities have crystallised in the Party. And though Lenin is no longer among the living, his ideas are alive. This is a magnificent lesson to us all." In his later speeches, too, Sun Yat-sen often referred to Lenin's great personality. After the interruption, the Kuomintang Congress proceeded with its work. It gave a new direction to the Party's home and foreign policy and gave shape to the common front of all progressive forces in the country, thereby promoting the general upsurge of the national liberation struggle.

The Congress also expressed its feelings of deep gratitude to the Soviet Union. The telegram it sent to L. Karakhan ran: "The Congress sincerely believes in the feelings of sympathy of the peoples of all countries and extends its gratitude to the Russian people who have been the first to express such feelings. The peoples of China and Russia shall march together, hand in hand, along the path of freedom and justice. On behalf of the All-China Congress of the Kuomintang we convey our fraternal greetings to Soviet Russia, our great neighbour." (*Ibid.*, p. 534.)

To familiarise active Kuomintang members with the theory of the "three popular principles," Sun Yat-sen delivered a series of lectures in January-August 1924. This undoubtedly played a definite role in spurring on the anti-imperialist movement in China.

In his lectures, Sun Yat-sen dwelt particularly on the idea of a close union between China and Soviet Russia.

This, for example, is what he said in his fourth lecture: "...All at once humanity saw a great hope dawn before it. That hope was the Russian revolution... Lenin advanced the slogan of self-determination of the oppressed nations

and called on the oppressed of the world to rise against inequality. The imperialists are attacking Lenin for it is in their interests to obliterate the progressive ideas of mankind and thus safeguard their own tranquillity. But the peoples have awakened. They realise that the powers are spreading lies about Lenin, resorting to falsehood and deception. The peoples of the world will not be misled again. It shows that their political consciousness has adopted a new line." (*Ibid.*, pp. 630-632.)

In the very first of his lectures, Sun Yat-sen spoke with great appreciation of Soviet foreign policy. He said: "After the European war, the Russians overthrew tsarism, abolished Russian imperialism and replaced the imperialist state by a new, socialist state. . .

"The change occurred only six years ago. But during those six years the Russians, who have altered the entire structure of their country, have altered their foreign policy too. Club law has been superseded by a policy of peace. Far from pursuing the former wild designs of aggressive global conquest, the new policy sets out to check the strong, help the weak and uphold justice." (*Ibid.*, p. 596.)

Pointing to Soviet Russia as a bulwark of world peace, Sun Yat-sen urged the Kuomintang to learn from the Russian socialist revolution and study its experience. He also emphasised that alliance with Russia was the only way for China to attain national equality.

The lectures also clearly showed that Sun Yat-sen had no more illusions about the seductive Wilson programme of national self-determination. He said that after the war "the peoples of Vietnam, Burma, Java, India and the Malay Archipelago, as well as the peoples of Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, Egypt, and a multitude of small European peoples have fully realised that the slogan of

self-determination... was just a piece of humbug." (*Ibid.*, p. 629.)

However correctly the lectures treated the world situation and the ways of overcoming China's semi-colonial dependence, they nonetheless contained a number of idealist and bourgeois-nationalist ideas. For example, the fifth lecture—on the principle of nationalism—suggested that to repulse the imperialist powers it was necessary to unite Chinese tribal communities first by villages, then by districts and provinces, and finally on a countrywide scale. Neither did Sun Yat-sen clearly understand what the nation was. He perceived it as an eternal entity rather than a historical one, he overlooked such an important feature of the nation as common economic activities and often failed to discriminate between the nation and the race.

In the same year (1924) Sun Yat-sen frequently addressed meetings of workers, peasants and soldiers of South China on burning problems of home and foreign policy, the anti-imperialist struggle and close alliance with Soviet Russia.

In a speech delivered to the officers and men of the Hunan Army, he dwelt at length on the domestic policy of the Soviet government. He emphasised: "To picture our future after the victory of the revolution more clearly, we must consider the facts characterising the happy life of the Russian people."

At the inauguration of a military academy Sun Yat-sen again referred to the October Revolution as an example the Chinese people should follow in their national liberation struggle. He also spoke about the experience of the Soviet Republic on August 23, at the Courses of the Peasant Movement sponsored by the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee. He said: "Now, after the agrarian

reform in Russia, there are no more big landowners and the entire land has been apportioned to the peasants in such a way as to provide every farmer with a field. On being given land, a farmer pays a tax to the state alone and need not worry about any rent to the landowner. That is indeed the fairest way to settle the agrarian question. While carrying out our revolution, we should adopt this Russian method and see to it that every peasant gets a field for himself." (*Ibid*., p. 867.)

While the Kuomintang was being reorganised, Sun Yat-sen also continued to urge speedy completion of the Soviet-Chinese negotiations in Peking. He kept up a lively correspondence with G. Chicherin and L. Karakhan. He was an active proponent of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Japan. Back on November 16, 1923, Sun Yat-sen addressed a long letter to Inukai, a prominent political figure whom he had known while in emigration, and who not long before had been made a Cabinet minister. Sun Yat-sen advised Inukai and the Japanese Cabinet to recognise the Soviet Union at once since the Government's foolish imitation of Britain, France and the United States was doing great harm to Japanese interests. "Japan should be the first to recognise the Government of Soviet Russia," he wrote. "This should be done immediately, without looking back at the Great Powers."

Sun Yat-sen criticised Japan for participating in intervention against the Soviet Republic. He refuted the arguments of the Japanese statesmen who claimed it was impossible to recognise the USSR since it was built on entirely different principles than Japan. He wrote: "People who reason in this way are like those looking at the sky from the bottom of a well, for their range of vision is narrow indeed. Are not the principles on which the Soviet

state rests exactly what Confucius termed the Great Union?... So what is there to fear so much? Besides, Japan is a country where Confucius is honoured, and Japan ought to be the first to meet these principles half way; she ought to lead the way for other powers." *(Ibid.*, p. 471.)

The letter to Inukai is important in yet another respect. It reveals Sun Yat-sen's views on the solidarity of the Asian peoples in their fight against imperialism.

The sympathies of all countries, he wrote, are now with Soviet Russia, the deliverer of the oppressed peoples of Europe and the chief opponent of the oppressors. The peoples of Asia are oppressed immeasurably more than the peoples of Europe and are impatient to be free. Since there is no country in Asia which could come to their rescue, their only hope is also Soviet Russia. These expectations have already materialised for Persia and Turkey, while now it is China and India that are ready to draw on the Soviet Union's assistance. Sun Yat-sen urged Japan to take the Soviet Union as an example and come out in defence of oppressed peoples.

Sun Yat-sen's work for the national liberation of China and his policy of friendship with the Soviet Union met with nothing but hostility from the imperialists. The Western powers did not even trouble to conceal their hatred for the government of South China and went out of their way to back up Wu Pei-fu, Tsao Kun, Chen Chiung-ming and other militarists who attempted to undermine the southern revolutionary regime.

How greatly Sun Yat-sen resented the big stick the imperialist powers—the United States among them—had employed against the government of South China is clear from the "Appeal to the American People" he sent to the United States on December 17, 1923. The Appeal said: "America... served as an example to us when we laun-

ched the revolution to abolish despotism and corrupt ministries and establish a republic in China. We could expect an American Lafayette to come and join in our fighting for the great cause. But in the twelfth year of our struggle for freedom it is not a Lafayette who comes but an American admiral who has brought to our waters more men-of-war than any other nation ever did, in order to join efforts with those who would like to crush us and see the Chinese Republic perish." (*The Far Eastern Times*, December 21, 1923. Retranslated from the Russian.)

In an interview with G. Clark, an American editor, Sun Yat-sen declared that leading foreign statesmen had always supported the Chinese reactionaries and suppressed the revolutionary movement. Clark reported: "Sun Yat-sen is especially embittered against America though he believes that the American people on the whole sympathise with his aspirations. For some strange reason the American government, since the Washington Conference, has taken a hostile stand towards China... As a proof of this he points to the fact that there were many more American ships in Canton than those of any other power and also that US Minister in China, Schurmann, has helped Tsao Kun's election and his recognition by the powers." (*The Peking Leader*, January 15, 1924. Retranslated from the Russian.)

In the same interview Sun Yat-sen spoke with great respect of the Soviet Union's policy, emphasising that "Russia and China are natural friends whose alliance is in effect invulnerable." He stated that in the global clash of the future the peoples striving for genuine freedom—the Chinese, Hindoos, Russians, Germans, Irish, Filipinos and American Negroes—would come out together, without distinction of race or colour, against the oppressors.

On May 31, 1924, the Sun Yat-sen South China government lodged a resolute protest with the US Consul General in Canton because of American deliveries of arms and military equipment to the northern militarists. A wave of anti-imperialist movement directed by the Kuomintang swept the country. The threats of direct armed intervention by the British imperialists failed to intimidate Sun Yat-sen.

Sun Yat-sen's action in rejecting the ultimatum, which was conveyed through the British Consul in Canton, was met with universal approval. Meetings and protest demonstrations were staged all over China. July 1924 had seen the formation of the Chinese League of Struggle Against Imperialism, in which over 50 public organisations of North China were represented, and in August, 30 public bodies in Shanghai had also joined in an anti-imperialist union. When the British presented their ultimatum, the League issued a call to defend the South Chinese government from foreign intervention.

To overthrow Kuomintang rule, the British intended to engineer a counter-revolutionary revolt in Canton itself with the help of the "merchant militia" set up by Canton merchants at the time of the 1911 revolution to protect their property from the militarists' outrages. As soon as the "merchant militia," or "paper tigers" as the people had contemptuously nicknamed them, started the revolt, Canton was to be attacked by the Chen Chiung-ming troops.

The British-subsidized revolt broke out on October 10, 1924, when gangs of the "merchant militia" opened fire on a big workers' demonstration held to celebrate the anniversary of the Republic. On Sun Yat-sen's orders, the task of suppressing the revolt was assigned to the cadets of the Whampoa Military Academy. The academy had

been set up in June 1924 to train Kuomintang military cadres who were taught by Soviet military advisers and instructors. Some of its chief officers had visited Moscow as members of the 1923 Kuomintang mission.

The cadets proved worthy of the trust. By October 25, the "merchant militia" had been routed and driven out of Canton. The British had got nothing out of their stooges. The attempt to bring about the overthrow of the popular Sun Yat-sen government failed miserably.

Also aiding the counter-revolutionaries was the United States, whose ruling circles saw in Sun Yat-sen and his government deadly enemies of American imperialism. US Marines sent by Washington had landed in Canton, ready to support the hangers-on of the compradore bourgeoisie.

The quick suppression of the revolt was also due to the directive which Sun Yat-sen sent from the front to the officers of the Whampoa Military Academy on October 10, 1924. It said:

"A revolutionary committee to deal with urgent matters should be set up immediately. It could do without Hu Han-min and Wang Ching-wei as learning from Russia is essential at the moment. Since Hu Han-min does not believe in learning from Russia, he naturally should not be on the Committee...

"Nor should the Committee include Wang Ching-wei as he, too, is against the Russian way of revolution, while the revolution that our Party shall be conducting from now on can never win unless it follows the example of Russia." (Sun Yat-sen. *Sel. Works*, Vol. 2, p. 876.) The directive also made practical suggestions on the mobilisation of the Whampoa Academy, provision of weapons for the government troops, etc.

It is obvious from this document that Sun Yat-sen

firmly insisted on the removal of anti-Soviet elements from responsible positions in the Kuomintang, considering them unworthy of confidence. Anti-Soviet sentiments were to Sun Yat-sen incompatible with holding key positions in the Kuomintang. As head of the Canton government, he worked tirelessly for the establishment of a close alliance between China and the Soviet state.

His letter to G. Chicherin, dated February 14, 1924, read: "You are perfectly right to believe that the main object of my Party is to create a strong movement among the Chinese people, revolutionary and constructive at the same time, and that to achieve this, organisation and propaganda are necessary. At present we are vigorously pressing in this direction. We hope with time to perform in China what your Party has been able to achieve in Russia in creating a new concept of state and a new system of government.

"For this reason we need advice and assistance, and we expect them from you and other comrades as well.

"I congratulate you heartily on the brilliant victory your diplomacy has scored in securing *de jure* recognition of your government by Downing Street. No doubt there is still much to be done before you can reap the fruits of that victory. But your triumph over Curzonism will certainly lead to other diplomatic triumphs." (*Soviet-Chinese Relations*, 1917-1957. *Collected Documents*, p. 78.)

When the Soviet-Chinese agreement of May 31, 1924, was concluded Sun Yat-sen issued a special manifesto on behalf on the Kuomintang calling for an eternal alliance between the Chinese and Russian people. The manifesto stated that the Peking government had been trying for many years to put off the recognition of Soviet Russia and hinder the conclusion of a new treaty between China

and Russia, following blindly the anti-Soviet policy of the imperialist powers. But such an approach, Sun Yat-sen declared, was counter to the interests and wishes of the Chinese people. He further wrote: "After the revolution, Russia radically altered the imperialist policy of the tsarist regime. She declared to China her readiness and desire to renounce all special rights and cancel all treaties detrimental to China's sovereignty...

"As to the Chinese-Russian agreement, the Chinese people are full of gratitude to Russia for this manifestation of justice and friendship. For decades, China was compelled to make treaties with foreign powers that infringed her sovereign rights, and accept humiliating terms. This was partly due to the weakness and incompetence of her former rulers, but was mainly the result of the rapacious imperialist policy of foreign states.

"The Chinese-Russian agreement fully meets the principles of equality and mutual respect of sovereignty of the two states."

Concluding the manifesto, Sun Yat-sen wrote on behalf of the Kuomintang Executive Committee: "Our Party believes that the Chinese people will be grateful to Russia for the good will shown in the agreement, and that the peoples of both countries will work for a still better understanding in future in order to co-operate with each other in the name of independence, sovereignty, mutual respect and assistance..." (Sun Yat-sen. *Coll. Works*, Taipeh, 1960, pp. 760-761.)

Sun Yat-sen often said that the Soviet Union was the only loyal and selfless friend China had. In this he encountered stabborn opposition from prominent Kuomintang leaders. As one can read in G. Voitinsky's reminiscences, "at that time they did not realise that by being

friendly with the whole of China and concluding a treaty with the North we actually reduced the danger for the South. Everybody in China realises that now. But at that time one could fear that many people would not. I tactfully asked Dr. Sun's opinion on that point. He spoke with utmost frankness and made me see that he appreciated the idea of the treaty between the USSR and the Chinese government as well as its importance for the Chinese people." (*Pravda*, March 15, 1925.)

This is how Sun Yat-sen in March 1924 described the attitude of his government to the Soviet Union: "The programme of the Workers' and Peasants' Government and my programme are one; we are closely united. Our relations being what they are we do not need to declare formally our recognition of Russia."

In a letter to L. Karakhan on September 12, 1924, Sun Yat-sen observed that it was time to wage an open struggle against the forces of imperialism in China. He wrote: "In this struggle I rely on your great country, whose friendship and ready assistance can make it possible for me to set China free from the stranglehold of imperialism and restore her political and economic independence."

On October 8, 1924, the s/s *Vorovsky* put in at Canton. This was the first Soviet ship to arrive, and bring arms, ammunition and equipment for the military academy. It marked the beginning of a regular flow of Soviet supplies for the revolutionary South. Sun Yat-sen welcomed the ship's crew in a cordial message which was later carried by the Canton newspapers. It said: "The relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Chinese Republic should be as close as possible, since the USSR has overthrown despotic imperialist domination and set out to free the peoples who are oppressed and weak... You have now arrived here, and your visit is fresh testi-

mony to the friendship between the two states. Thus aiding each other, we shall sweep away all obstacles and enter an era of Great Unity to the joy of our countries and for the good of all mankind. Long live the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics!" (Sun Yat-sen. *Sel. Works*, Vol. 2, p. 879.)

The ship's crew received an enthusiastic welcome from the people of Canton. A Triumphal Arch was erected in their honour and a government reception held, at which a message of greetings from Sun Yat-sen was read. Later, Sun Yat-sen visited the ship and exchanged greetings with her crew.

The earnest support of the revolutionary government by the Soviet people found a warm response in the hearts of the Chinese workers and peasants. Expressing his high appreciation of Soviet aid, Sun Yat-sen wrote in his appeal "To the Population of China": "We should not forget that free Russia has proclaimed the slogan, 'Hands Off China!' ... No distance is too long for slogans resounding from Moscow. They speed round the earth like lightning and knock at the heart of every toiler...

"We know that the Soviets never side with an unjust cause. If they are with us, truth is with us, but truth must win and right shall triumph over mere force."

Soviet citizens who were privileged to meet Sun Yat-sen unanimously remarked on his singular modesty which was revealed in his unassuming manner, his simple dress and tastes, and his unusual self-control and equanimity under all circumstances. Despite the progressing illness that marred the last years of his life, he always kept in the thick of things.

In August 1924, the revolutionary troops of the Canton government resumed operations against Wu Pei-fu, who had the backing of British and US imperialists.

On October 23, 1924 General Feng Yu-hsiang of the Chihli forces occupied Peking and overthrew the Tsao Kun-Wu Pei-fu government. He proclaimed his solidarity with the Canton government and his intention to contribute to the ending of civil war in China.

The new Peking government of Tuan Chi-jui, which was supported by Chang Tso-lin, was also compelled to announce the convention in Peking of a political conference to determine the future state system of China.

Sun Yat-sen decided to go to the North himself as he wanted to ensure the convention of a genuinely democratic national congress. On November 10, 1924, before leaving for Peking, Sun Yat-sen published his "Proclamation on Going to the North," in which he explained his attitude to the proposed meeting with Chang Tso-lin, Tuan Chijui and Feng Yu-hsiang and called on China to rally her forces for a fight against militarism and imperialism.

Sun Yat-sen left for the North on November 13. All along the way—in Shanghai, Tientsin and Peking—he was enthusiastically hailed. The Chinese people cheered their revolutionary leader. Not so the imperialist powers. When on November 17 Sun Yat-sen passed through Shanghai on his way north, an English newspaper, the *North China Daily News*, ran an editorial urging the authorities of the Shanghai settlement to prevent Sun Yat-sen from coming ashore.

Sun Yat-sen sharply criticised the brazen demonstration of the foreign imperialists. He told a press conference that Shanghai was Chinese territory where Chinese alone could be masters, while foreigners were merely visitors in China.

Sun Yat-sen demanded the annulment of unequal treaties imposed by the capitalists, and the establishment of China's political and economic independence from im-

perialists. He quoted the example of the Soviet Union, which was the only power to have cancelled unequal treaties and taken the road of friendship with China.

This demand was voiced in the speeches Sun Yat-sen made at Kobe, Nagasaki and Moji, where he stopped off on his way to Tientsin.

Pointing to the Soviet Union as the first foreign country which had given up of its own accord unequal treaties with China, Sun Yat-sen said at Kobe on November 28, 1924: "The reason Russia has renounced the unequal treaties is that after the revolution she embraced the principle of humanism. Knowing these treaties to be extremely disadvantageous and inequitable for China Russia has voluntarily renounced all such treaties and her privileges in China."

Urging the annulment of unequal treaties as an absolute necessity, Sun Yat-sen called on Japan to take Russia for an example in that respect. He said: "Today there is a new state in Europe. All the white people of Europe shrink from it. All Europeans regard it as a poisonous snake or a savage wild beast but not as a human state and are afraid to have any dealings with it. We in Asia also have many people who are behaving in a similar way. What is this state? This state is Russia. Russia intends to dissociate herself completely from Europe. Why is she going to do so? It is because she is following the 'right road' and will not follow the 'tyrants' road.' Russia adheres to the principles of humanism, equity, morality and ethics; she seeks no profit and seizes no advantages. Russia firmly upholds the principles of social justice and does not believe in the many being oppressed by the few... In view of all this, the new culture that has recently emerged in Russia coincides singularly with ancient Eastern culture... Europeans will

have nothing to do with Russia because of her new ideas; they fear that if Russia's ideas predominate, it will mean a crippling blow at the 'tyrants' road' principles and so they heap abuse on Russia..."

In conclusion, Sun Yat-sen remarked that the "principle of Great Asia," popular in Japan, should, in his opinion, have as its aim both the liberation of the oppressed Asian peoples from the arbitrary rule of the imperialist powers and the abolition of inequality and oppression all over the world.

Thus towards the end of his life Sun Yat-sen managed to overcome the narrow nationalist concept of the so-called racial solidarity of the Asian countries and could express his profound belief in the organic connection between the national liberation struggle of the subjugated peoples and the efforts of the Soviet Union to translate into reality Lenin's precepts, the efforts of the international proletariat to abolish the entire system of imperialist exploitation. Sun Yat-sen persistently stressed the exceptional significance of close unity of China and other oppressed peoples with the first socialist state. That was the most important result of the forty-year-long evolution of the views of the great revolutionary democrat on foreign policy.

In Kobe, Sun Yat-sen fell ill at the end of November 1924, and on arriving in Tientsin took to bed. Gravely ill, he nevertheless went on to Peking where he was enthusiastically welcomed by the citizens.

On January 26 Sun Yat-sen underwent an operation in Peking, but the disease—cancer of the liver—was incurable. He died on March 12, 1925.

Sun Yat-sen's Behest

Before his death, Sun Yat-sen dictated and signed his *Last Will* to the Kuomintang and a message to the Central Executive Committee of the USSR. In these last documents Sun Yat-sen, the great Chinese democrat and patriot, left to his Party and the people the programme to which he had dedicated himself body and soul.

The *Will* ran: "For forty years I have devoted my life to the cause of the national revolution for the sake of China's freedom and independence. Those 40 years have instilled in me the unshakable belief that the goal can be achieved only if the Chinese people rally together and unite with other peoples, who treat them as their equals, for a common struggle.

"The revolution is yet in progress; all my comrades must strain every effort to achieve the aim, following the

precepts laid down in such of my works as the *Plan for National Reconstruction,* the *Foundations of National Reconstruction* and the *Three Popular Principles* as well as the Manifesto of the First All-China Congress of the Kuomintang. Our recent declarations on the convention of a national congress and abolition of unequal treaties must be carried out in the shortest time possible. Such is my last will and testament." (Sun Yat-sen. *Sel. Works*, Vol. 2, p. 921.)

In his message to the Central Executive Committee of the USSR, Sun Yat-sen, who saw in the Soviet Union China's only reliable and disinterested friend, expressed the hope that the day might come when a free and independent Chinese people would march hand in hand with the Soviet Union towards the happy future of mankind.

He wrote: "Dear comrades, as I lie here stricken with an illness men cannot cure my thoughts are of you and the destinies of my Party and my people.

"You head a union of free republics which is the palpable heritage the immortal Lenin bestowed on the oppressed peoples of the world. This heritage must help the victims of imperialism to achieve liberty and emancipate themselves from the international system rooted long since in slavery, war and injustice.

"I leave behind me a party, which, I have always hoped, will be closely connected with you in the historic work of finally liberating China and other exploited nations from the imperialist system. I have not been destined to complete my work and I must pass it on to those who, by remaining faithful to the principles and precepts of the Party, will be my true followers...

"Therefore my behest to the Kuomintang is that it should go on with the national liberation movement

so that China, now reduced by the imperialists to a semi-colonial status, can become free.

"For this purpose I have instructed the Party to keep in touch with you constantly. I am confident that the assistance you have given my country until now will not cease.

"In saying good-bye to you, dear comrades, I should like to express the hope that the day is not far off when the USSR will hail a mighty and free China as its friend and ally, and that the two countries will march hand in hand toward victory in the great struggle to liberate the oppressed of the world.

"Yours fraternally, Sun Yat-sen. Peking, March 11, 1925." (*Pravda*, March 14, 1925.)

Soviet people sincerely mourned the death of Sun Yat-sen, always a true and consistent friend of the Soviet Union. The Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) sent a telegram to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang expressing the deep sorrow of the peoples of the Soviet Union over Sun Yat-sen's death.

The telegram read: "The Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party is fully confident that Sun Yat-sen's great cause will not die with Sun Yat-sen and that this cause will live on in the hearts of the Chinese workers and peasants to the consternation of the enemies of the Chinese people.

"The Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party is confident that the Kuomintang will hold high Sun Yat-sen's banner in the great struggle for liberation from imperialism and will succeed in carrying this banner with honour to final victory over imperialism and its agents in China.

"Sun Yat-sen is dead—long live Sun Yat-sen's cause,

long live Sun Yat-sen's behests!" (*Ibid.*)

Sun Yat-sen did not live to see the successful accomplishment of the national liberation struggle of the Chinese people. He died at the height of his creative ability, when his most cherished hopes and plans were coming true. The armed struggle of the Chinese people against imperialist domination and feudal oppression, which began in 1925, had a temporary setback in 1927. It took many years of hard persevering effort before the heroic Chinese workers and peasants under the guidance of the Communist Party won a decisive victory. While the struggle went on, the Communist Party actively supported the main political precepts of Sun Yat-sen.

The establishment of the Chinese People's Republic in 1949 was a great event in modern history. The popular revolution in China dealt a smashing blow at the positions of imperialism in Asia. It contributed enormously to changing the world balance of forces in favour of socialism and gave a new powerful impetus to the national liberation movement. No small part in this victory belongs to the great son of the Chinese people—Sun Yat-sen.

The name of Sun Yat-sen, a great and true friend of the Soviet Union, is highly esteemed by Soviet people, who hold dear everything connected with his memory. A monitor of the First Brigade of the Amur Flotilla, which supported the Soviet Army units operating against Japanese militarists and Manchukuo puppet troops in North-East China (Manchuria) during World War II, covered herself with glory. She bore the name of Sun Yat-sen. On August 30, 1945, the *Sun Yat-sen* was renamed Monitor of the Guards in recognition of her crew's courage in action, bravery, exemplary discipline and heroism.

Millions of Soviet schoolchildren and students of many nationalities learn about Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary ac-

tivities from their history books. His works have been translated into Russian.

Sun Yat-sen has gone down in history as a true son of the Chinese people, an ardent patriot and fighter for his country's freedom and independence, a great and loyal friend of the Soviet Union and staunch ally of the peoples languishing under imperialist oppression.

Sun Yat-sen taught the Chinese people to protect and cherish like the apple of their eye friendship with the fraternal Soviet people, who, at crucial times, always lent a helping hand to their neighbour. Speaking at a session of the preparatory committee of the Chinese-Soviet Friendship Society on September 6, 1949, in Peking, Sung Tsing-ling said: "Sun Yat-sen left us his most cherished dream of co-operation with the Soviet Union, China's only friend."

The Soviet people are convinced that no force on earth can ever undermine the great friendship of the two peoples that was so nobly supported by the great Chinese revolutionary democrat, Sun Yat-sen.

С. ТИХВИНСКИЙ
СУНЬ-ЯТ-СЕН
на английском языке
Цена 10 коп.

K. P. SABHA AMIRAKADAL? ... HAPHALLA
LIBRARY
No. ....
Date. ....
JAMMU